

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 135913
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY TAIPEI NIACT
INFO USLO PEKING

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 135913

EXDIS FOR AMBASSADOR FROM HOLBROOKE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PEPR, TW, CH, US

SUBJECT: BRIEFING CCK ON BRZEZINSKI TRIP

REF: STATE 126093

1. YOU SHOULD USE THE FOLLOWING POINTS IN TALKING TO
PRESIDENT CHIANG:

A) DR. BRZEZINSKI'S TALKS WITH HUANG HUA, TENG HSIAO-PING
AND HUA KUO-FENG CONCENTRATED ON GLOBAL ISSUES BUT ALSO
DEALT WITH THE BILATERAL US-PRC RELATIONSHIP, INCLUDING
NORMALIZATION.

B) AS INDICATED IN PUBLIC STATEMENTS, THE ATMOSPHERE WAS
POSITIVE.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 135913

C) THE BRZEZINSKI VISIT SHOULD BE VIEWED AS A STAGE IN AN
EVOLVING PROCESS WHICH IS BASED ON AN UNDERSTANDING THAT
THE US AND PRC HAVE A COMMON, STRATEGIC, AND LONG-TERM
INTEREST IN DEVELOPING CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONS WITH EACH
OTHER. BRZEZINSKI EXPLAINED HIS VIEW OF THIS PROCESS IN
HIS TWO DINNER TOASTS IN PEKING. THESE SHOULD BE STUDIED
CAREFULLY.

D) MUCH OF THE DISCUSSION WAS TAKEN UP IN A REVIEW OF OVERALL STRATEGIC CONCEPTS, RESPECTIVE POLICIES TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION, DEFENSE POLICY, AND A GLOBAL REVIEW OF POLICIES AREA-BY-AREA. FOR THE MOST PART, THIS WAS SIMILAR TO THE EXCHANGES DURING PREVIOUS VISITS. DESPITE WELL-KNOWN DIFFERENCES (E.G. KOREA OR OUR EFFORTS TO FOSTER A COOPERATIVE DIMENSION TO OUR RELATIONS WITH THE USSR). BOTH SIDES RECOGNIZED THAT OUR COMMON INTERESTS WERE MORE IMPORTANT THAN OUR DIFFERENCES AND THAT EVEN IF WE ACTED SEPARATELY, OUR INTERESTS IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD WERE PARALLEL. CHINESE CRITICISM OF OUR PERFORMANCE VIS-A-VIS THE USSR WAS FAR LESS STRIDENT THAN IN 1975 AND SOMEWHAT MORE SUBDUED THAN DURING THE VANCE VISIT LAST YEAR. MOREOVER, THE LEADERS WERE MORE CANDID IN ASSESSING THEIR SITUATION AND INFLUENCE.

E) IN EAST ASIA, THE MOST STRIKING CHANGE IN THE CHINESE PRESENTATION WAS IN THEIR DESCRIPTION OF THE CONSEQUENCES FOR INDOCHINA, CHINA, AND SOUTHEAST ASIA OF THE SRV'S "REGIONAL HEGEMONY" BACKED BY THE USSR. THEY ACCUSED VIETNAM OF TRYING TO DOMINATE LAOS AND CAMBODIA THROUGH AN INDOCHINA FEDERATION; ACKNOWLEDGED SEVERE BILATERAL PROBLEMS WITH VIETNAM; AND DESPAIRED OF ANY EARLY RESOLUTION TO A "CHRONIC" PROBLEM. CHINESE STATEMENTS TOWARD ASEAN COUNTRIES PARALLELED THEIR PUBLIC POSTURE. THEIR CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 135913

POSITION ON JAPAN SEEMED TO REFLECT EAGERNESS TO CONCLUDE THE FRIENDSHIP TREATY BUT ALSO SOME ANNOYANCE WITH CERTAIN CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS IN JAPAN AND WITH JAPANESE POLICY TOWARD THE SENKAKUS. ONLY ON KOREA WAS THERE A SHARP DIVERGENCE OF US-PRC VIEWS. THE CHINESE STATED THEIR POSITION IN CLOSE PARALLEL WITH THEIR RECENT PUBLIC COMMENTS WHILE WE EXPLAINED OUR DETERMINATION TO ASSURE THE SECURITY OF THE ROK AND A FULL ROLE FOR THE ROK IN ANY FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS. DESPITE THEIR STATED POSITION, THE CHINESE LEADERS DID NOT IMPLY ANY SUPPORT FOR ADVENTURE BY THE DPRK, AND THEY INDICATED NO PARTICULAR IMPATIENCE ON THE QUESTION OF OUR TROOP WITHDRAWALS.

F) THE MAKEUP OF THE BRZEZINSKI DELEGATION SYMBOLIZED AREAS WHERE WE BELIEVE FURTHER IMPROVEMENT IN BILATERAL RELATIONS CAN BE OF MUTUAL BENEFIT TO THE PRC AND US, ESPECIALLY IN THE FIELD OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. WE DO NOT EXPECT DRAMATIC DEVELOPMENTS IN THE BROADENING OF OUR RELATIONSHIP, BUT WE HOPE THERE WILL BE PROGRESS IN THIS RESPECT EVEN BEFORE FULL NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS. WE WILL CONDUCT THE EVOLUTION OF POLICY IN THIS AREA CAREFULLY TO ENSURE THAT IT DOES NOT IMPINGE ADVERSELY

ON THE SECURITY OR OTHER INTERESTS OF OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES.

G) FULL NORMALIZATION OF US-PRC RELATIONS WAS DISCUSSED, AND WE BELIEVE THE PROSPECT WAS ENHANCED BY THE TALKS. HOWEVER, THE TALKS WERE NOT INTENDED AS A NEGOTIATING FORUM, AND NO AGREEMENTS WERE REACHED. WE EXPECT DISCUSSIONS TO CONTINUE IN HOPES OF ACHIEVING THE ADMINISTRATION'S CONSISTENTLY-STATED GOAL.

2. WE ARE, OF COURSE, FULLY AWARE THAT TAIPEI DOES NOT SHARE OUR CONCEPTION OF THE STRATEGIC AND OTHER BENEFITS-- IN EAST ASIA AS WELL AS GLOBALLY-- OF AN IMPROVEMENT IN US-PRC RELATIONS. WE ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT FULL NORMALIZATION IS A GOAL WE ALL SHARE. WE BELIEVE THAT FULL NORMALIZATION OF US-PRC RELATIONS WOULD CHANGE THE FORMAL NATURE OF AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN AND CREATE A SITUATION WHICH WOULD HAVE TO BE HANDLED WITH CARE. NEVERTHELESS, YOU SHOULD ASSURE CCK THAT BRZEZINSKI SAID AND DID NOTHING IN PEKING INCONSISTENT WITH OUR DETERMINATION TO AVOID ACTIONS THAT WOULD JEOPARDIZE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE AND PROSPERITY FOR THE PEOPLE OF TAIWAN, INCLUDING THEIR ABILITY TO MAINTAIN NECESSARY CONTACTS WITH THE UNITED STATES.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 135913

3. IF THE PRESIDENT RAISES THE ISSUE OF A US RESPONSE TO ROC MILITARY PURCHASE APPLICATIONS (E.G. F-4'S, HARPOONS, PRECISION-GUIDED MUNITIONS, ETC.), YOU MAY STATE THAT THESE ARE UNDER HIGH-LEVEL CONSIDERATION.

4. I WILL USE THE SAME POINTS WHEN I SEE AMBASSADOR SHEN NEXT WEEK. VANCE

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